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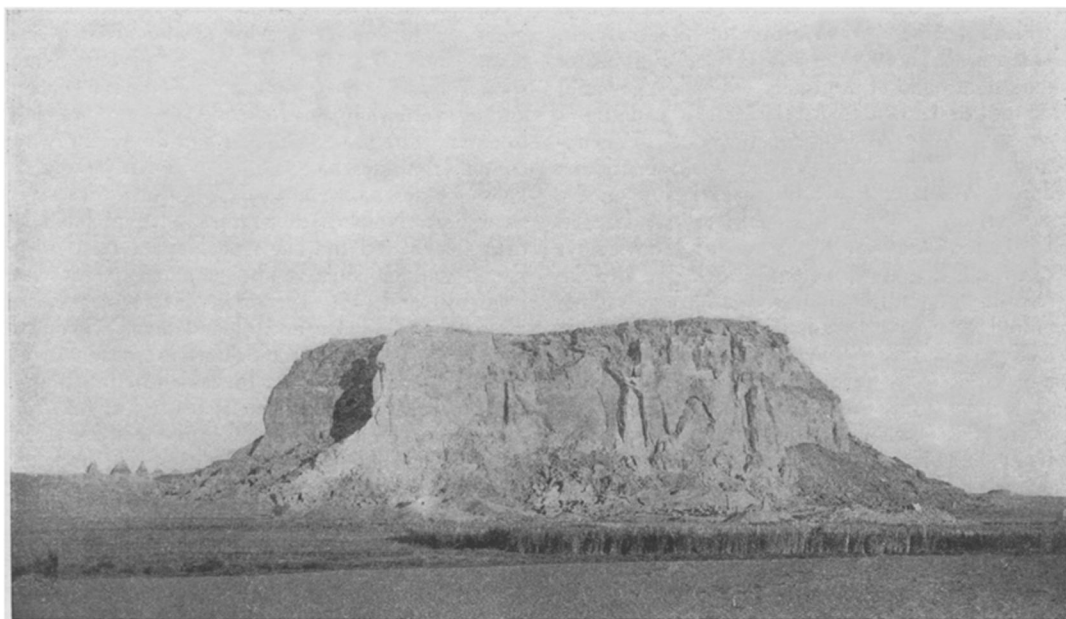


Fig. 1. View of Barkal, looking north

Excavations at Napata, the Capital of Ethiopia

Report of Dr. George A. Reisner, Director of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition

IN the winter of 1915-1916, after the conclusion of the work at the Giza Pyramids, the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition resumed the exploration of the ancient sites of Dongola Province which it had begun in 1912-1913. Negotiations with the Sudan Department of Antiquities, opened previous to the war, had resulted in the grant of a permit to make excavations at Napata, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, the Kush of the Old Testament. The site is in the Dongola Province, but over two hundred miles up-stream from our excavations at Kerma. A great bend in the river lies between the two places (see map in *Bulletin* of April, 1914), so that the current, which runs northward at Kerma, flows almost southward at Napata.

The city of Napata appears to have lain on both sides of the Nile, but the part on the western bank is that best known in modern times. Here stands

the great table mountain of sandstone called Gebel Barkal (Fig. 1), the landmark by which the district was first known to modern travelers. Among the ancients it was venerated as the "Holy Mount," in which dwelt Amon of Napata. Under the precipitous eastern wall of this mountain the ruins of the great temples have always been visible; and on the low hills to the southwest fifteen small pyramids could be counted, some of them with the casing nearly intact. Since early in the last century Gebel Barkal has drawn the attention of all the great European travelers who came up the Nile looking for the ancient Meroe and for the older Napata. Hanbury and Waddington, Cailiaud, Hoskins and Lepsius all attempted surveys and descriptions of its temples and monuments. Many pieces of sculpture and a number of historical inscriptions of great importance have been carried away from the site to enrich the great Egyptian museums of Cairo and other cities. Nevertheless, the Gebel Barkal temples, and above all, the pyramids beside the mount, had never been systematically explored.

At Kerma our excavations had to do with the

older period of Ethiopian history, the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan in the Middle Empire (2000 B. C.) and the development of the remarkable Egypto-Nubian civilization of this isolated community. At Napata it is a later period, after the Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan in the sixteenth century before Christ, which is the subject of our investigation.

For about five centuries after its reconquest the country was under a series of Egyptian governors whose title at first was "King's Son, Governor of the Southern Countries," and later, "King's Son of Kush (Ethiopia), Governor of the Southern Countries," often with the added title, "Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King." The first governor of Ethiopia known to us during this period was named Thury, who, in the eighth year of Amenophis I (about 1550 B. C.), made his inscription recording his names and titles as viceroy on the rocks of the Island of Uranarti in the Second Cataract. After him the names of the viceroys are known with an occasional break down to the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, or for nearly three hundred years. The administration of Ethiopia by this long line of viceroys resulted in a thorough Egyptianizing of the country. Egyptian officials and soldiers were scattered about the land; temples to Egyptian gods were built in all large towns; and Egyptian learning, as well as the practice of Egyptian handicrafts, was widespread. During the Twentieth Dynasty our list is less secure, and finally ends with the name of Herihor, the high priest who supplanted the last of the twelve kings named Ramses.

It has been inferred from very meagre inscriptional evidence that Ramses II, or one of his predecessors, made over the Southern Countries to Amon, that is, to the Amon priesthood. Another point not yet clear is the reference to the office of the viceroy of Kush in the funerary tablet of Nesikhonsu, Queen of Pinezem II of the Twenty-first Egyptian Dynasty. It is clear, however, that the Amon priesthood who controlled the appointment of the king and his officials in Egypt must have exercised an equal power over the appointments in the Southern Countries. In the troubled times of the Twentieth to the Twenty-third Dynasties, Egypt was often divided into two separate administrations, of which the Southern or Theban principality was usually under the more or less independent control of the high priest of Amon. Whatever the political status of Ethiopia, there must always have existed a certain sympathy and intercourse between the priests of Amon-Re of Napata and the priests of Amon-Re of Thebes.

After an obscurity lasting three centuries, Ethiopia reappears in a blaze of power and authority as the land of Amon *par excellence*, claiming even to be the original home of Amon and of the Egyptians. The will of the god, expressed by his manifestations in his temple at Napata, was the supreme law of the land, deposing

kings and appointing kings, sending out the army to fight and take booty, and exacting a fair share for the temple service of all the income of the land from trade or war or natural production. It is small wonder that the Ethiopians, when they had overrun Egypt at the command of Amon, were ready to boast that it was Amon-Re of Ethiopia, abiding in the "Holy Mount" of Napata, who had now added Egypt to his domain, and that, in fact, the Amon worshippers of Egypt were themselves originally Ethiopians.

Out of an obscure background of faith in the great god of Napata and his oracles given in his temple, the men of this "miserable" land were spurred by local successes to attempt the impossible, and, as so often happens, found the impossible coming to pass. The military leaders and the priests who controlled the oracles were no doubt largely of Egyptian descent, but the mass of the levies must have been Nubians or negroes. Egypt fell into their hands and the kings of Napata ruled over Egypt and Ethiopia. The great conqueror was Piankhy and his successors were Shabaka, Shabatoka, Tirhaka and Tanutamon. Shabaka attempted to stem the Assyrian conquest of Western Asia by assisting Hezekiah of Judah and the other small Palestinian states. Tirhakah (as Shabaka's commander-in-chief) is mentioned in II Kings as fighting against Sennacherib; and the Assyrian inscriptions tell of his wars with Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. He lost Egypt to Esarhaddon, won it back and lost it again to Ashurbanipal. His successor, Tanutamon, restored the Ethiopian domination over Egypt, but he was apparently the last of the great kings of Ethiopia. After a gallant struggle against an empire with myriads of soldiers and the wealth of Western Asia at its disposal, the little Ethiopian theocracy was driven back to its narrow home, a strip of black land stretching a few hundred miles along the Nile. Its greatest asset was the command of the three great caravan roads trod by those who carried the trade with Central Africa and Abyssinia. Its population was less than half a million. It is doubtful whether, in its resources of men and natural wealth, Ethiopia was much better off than Judah or Israel.

After the retirement of Tanutamon to Napata, the Ethiopian monarchy still held to its theocratic notions and to the fiction of its world power, and the kings chosen by the great god still carried on successful wars (probably to the south) in the name of Amon, and filled the temples of Napata with loot. They made their statues after the Egyptian manner and held to the traditions of Egyptian arts and crafts as well as those of religion.

All our information about Ethiopia after the loss of Egypt came from five Egyptian inscriptions from the great temple at Gebel Barkal. These inscriptions describe the selection by Amon of Espalut as king of Ethiopia, the reign of a king, Harsiotef, and the accession of a king, Nastesen. From



Fig. 2. Pyramid IV. Stairway and Chapel, looking west

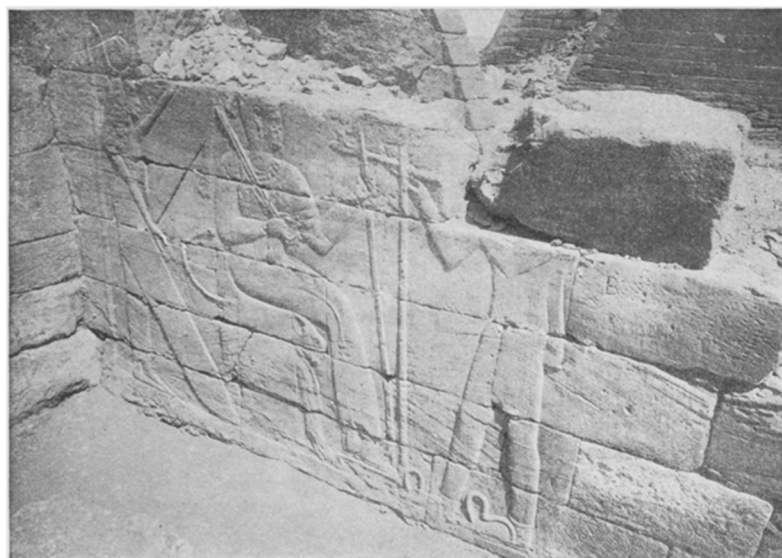


Fig. 3. Barkal. Pyramid IV. Meroitic reliefs on interior wall of chapel

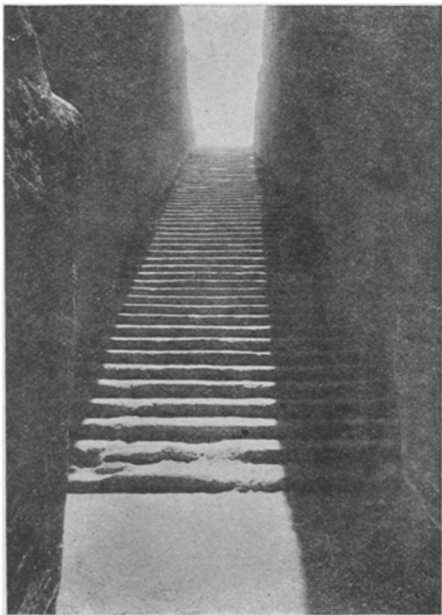


Fig. 4. Barkal. Pyramid XI. Stairway, seen from underground chamber looking up

other short or fragmentary inscriptions the names of five or six other kings of this period were known, but there our knowledge ended. A few centuries later the capital of Ethiopia was shifted southwards to Meroë, sixty miles above the mouth of the Atbara. The Meroitic kingdom persisted to the days of the Greeks and Romans, but its history must be sought at Meroë, not at Napata.

It was at Napata, the capital of the theocratic monarchy of Ethiopia, that the expedition began work in January last. The first undertaking was the penetration of the burial chambers of the small pyramids (Fig. 2) behind the "Holy Mount" which had hitherto defied all attempts of European archaeologists. The mystery was solved the first day by the excavation of a small ruined pyramid. The entrance to the buried chambers under the pyramids was found to be by means of a stairway on the eastern side of the pyramid (Fig. 4). The reason for previous failures was that the search had been confined to the proximity of the pyramid, whereas the nearest end of the stairway lay some meters outside the doorway of the pyramid chapel. In four days we had found the entrances of seven pyramids. In five weeks we had entered and cleared the underground chambers of twenty-five pyramids. But they had all been plundered a thousand years or more before (Fig. 5), and all but one were empty except for fragments of objects. The one exception had been only partially plundered owing to its dangerous roof—so dangerous that we waited until the roof fell before entering. This added perhaps twenty tons of debris to our task, but twenty tons is not much in the course of the work. In this pyramid we found a wonderful hinged bracelet of enameled

gold in perfect condition, a pledge of the riches which all these pyramids must once have contained. The fragments from the pyramid chambers permitted a very fair reconstruction of the arts and crafts of the period, and a determination of the approximate date of the pyramids. They were Meroitic of about the first century B. C., (Fig. 3) and not the burial places of the earlier kings of Ethiopia. This conclusion was consoling, for it left us the hope that some of the other known groups of pyramids at Kuru, Tangassi, Zuma, or Nuri would prove to be the cemetery of the great kings of Ethiopia, and perhaps less plundered than the Barkal pyramids.

Having cleared the pyramids, attention was directed to the great temple on the river side of the mountain (Fig. 6). This was no doubt the very temple of Amon in which the divine decrees had been given which sent the older kings to conquer Egypt and fight with Assyria. In the midst of it, from the days of the first European visitors, a black granite pedestal and a gray granite altar have been visible. The pedestal bore the name of Piankhy, the first Ethiopian conquerer of Egypt, and the gray altar the name of Tirhaka, who fought with Sennacherib. It is a vast place, equal to any of the great Egyptian temples except Karnak, and the work of disposing of the debris caused us difficulties. The temple was surrounded by other buildings on all but the mountain side. On that side the ground was strewn with blocks fallen from the cliff, so that we had to make preliminary trenches to determine whether there were any remains between the temple and the mountain. First of all we examined the ground just north of the outer pylon and found the floor of the last Meroitic enclosure; then, just when it had begun to appear that we might safely make our dump-heap here, we cleared out a hole in the floor to find a number of broken life-size statues of the great kings of Ethiopia. That put an end to the plan of making a dumping-place on this side. From these fragments we afterwards put together a practically complete statue of King Espalut, who reigned soon after Tanutamon, and a statue of Tirhaka, of which the head was missing: As I looked at the vast plain around the temple the



Fig. 5. Barkal. Pyramid XVIII. Doorway at foot of stair with door-block of mud brick, showing thieves' entrance

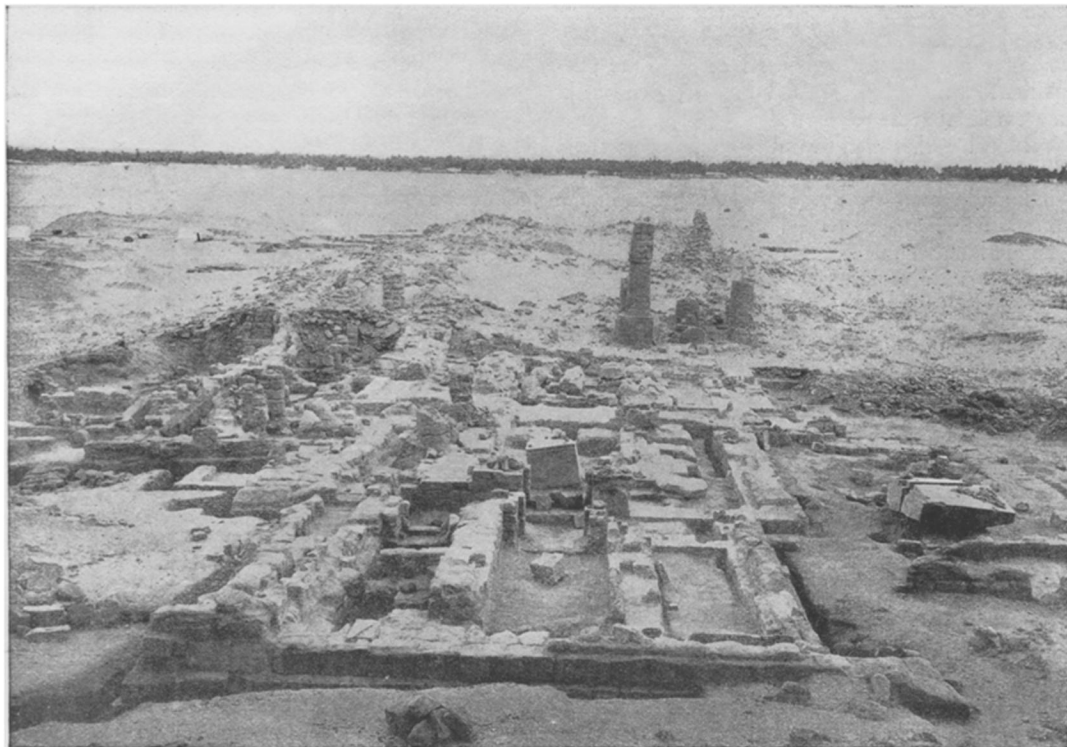


Fig. 6. Barkal. The great temple of Amon, showing the excavation of back rooms



Fig. 7. Barkal. Room 904 with the head of Tirhaka and the second group of broken statues

chance of finding the head of the Tirhaka statue seemed to me hardly worth thinking about. We cleared the immediate neighborhood very carefully up to the wall of the pylon and came to the conclusion that the fragments had been thrown out of the temple at some restoration which was made a good deal earlier than its last Meroitic occupation. The hole through which we had descended had been made by people of the late pre-Christian period in digging a grave. The group of fragments extended under the Meroitic floor, much beyond the limits of this hole.

Baffled on the north in our search for a dumping place, we turned to the southern side, where the remains of three or four temples lay in an indescribable state of destruction. The subsoil showed in places, and the surface was a series of holes left by treasure hunters, seabkh diggers and European excavators. Near the cliff stood a small temple from whose pylon Cailliaud had copied an inscription of a king named Senka-amon-seken. The back part of this temple was covered with huge blocks of stone fallen from the cliff and had not been excavated in modern times owing to the physical difficulty of dealing with the fallen cliff. However, in spite of the labor involved, it was determined to clear this whole area. A place was found between the so-called Senka-amon-seken temple and Tirhaka's cave temple to the goddess Mut where our trenches showed there were no monuments. Here the debris was thrown, and, starting along a line fifty meters south of the back part of the great temple, the ground was cleared over an area about fifty by one hundred meters in size. Five temples were exposed as far as they were preserved, and part of a stone-paved roadway winding about among the temples. The interesting point historically was that all these temples had been restored or rebuilt at different periods. The earliest foundations were of the new Empire (1500 B.C.), as was shown by inscribed stones of Thothmes III and foundation deposits of Thothmes IV. The latest buildings were late Meroitic, later even than the pyramids. But the entire period of the theocratic monarchy was represented. The whole of this chronological series was also found in the back part of the great temple, of which we were able to clear a few rooms at the end of the season. In fact, the great temple, as drawn by Cailliaud and Lepsius, was the final Meroitic form of five reconstructions and restorations of a building of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

Thus from the most ruined part of the site we have recovered plans and dated masonry for the whole of the theocratic period. Both the temple plans and the masonry are of great interest and open the road to a history of Ethiopian architecture.

There were two events in the course of this work especially worthy of mention: (1) the finding of a second heap of fragments of royal statues from the great temple, and (2) the excavation of the so-called temple of Senka-amon-seken. In clearing

one of the rooms of an older abandoned mud-brick temple which lay beside an Ethiopian temple (No. 800), the men suddenly came on an enormous black granite head of Tirhaka and an hour later on the broken torsos of five statues and some other fragments (Fig. 7). It hardly seemed possible that the Tirhaka head could belong to the body found on the north. Such a freak of chance was too extraordinary for belief; but when after some days we found that other pieces of the two groups fitted together, we mustered up courage to test the fact. The head was too heavy to move for the purpose, so we took an outline of the break on paper and found that the head actually fitted on the Tirhaka body (Fig. 8). The inscription on the stone support of the head joined on that of the support of the body and gave the five names of Tirhaka as known from other inscriptions. When the work of fitting together was finished, there were five nearly complete royal statues, with their heads — Tirhaka, Tanutamón, Amonanal, Espalut and Senka-amon-seken — and four headless statues, two of Tanutamón and one each of Amonanal and a queen, Amonmernefer (Fig. 9). The first two were among the great kings of Ethiopia already known from the Egyptian, the Assyrian and the Biblical documents. Espalut is known from the two famous inscriptions mentioned above, which came from the great temple at Barkal, and Amonanal was his father and predecessor. The statues of all these earlier kings are of first-class Egyptian workmanship and show how completely the Egyptian traditions of art were kept up during their time. The statues of Senka-amon-seken show a certain deterioration, a loss of skill or the loss of means with which to employ skill. The statue of the queen is in the same size and style as one of those of Senka-amon-seken and appears to have been paired with it. The work at the so-called Senka-amon-seken



Fig. 8. Barkal. The head of Tirhaka



Fig. 9. *Barkal. Statue of the Queen Amonmernefer. Clothing left rough to receive gold foil*

temple, to be described in the next paragraph, proved that Senka-amon-seken was separated by at least one king from Espalut; and the poverty of the craftsmanship shown by these later statues probably marks the failing of the great period begun by Piankhy about 740 B. C.

The second event of unusual interest was the excavation of the so-called temple Senka-amon-seken, but really the temple of a predecessor named Atlanersa. As noted above, the cliff had fallen on the back part of the temple, and no modern excavator had ventured to undertake the labor involved in removing the huge blocks of red sandstone. Several of them were well over twenty tons in weight, and the soft but obstinate stone was very little given to splitting. Our men fairly had to pound them to pieces. Once they were

out of the way, the temple was found to be filled with detritus washed down from the cliff. On clearing this away the inmost sanctuary was exposed as it had been on the day the cliff fell. A small sandstone statue and a black granite statuette of Amon took up the greater part of the limited space in the sanctuary, and many small votive offerings of the same period as the pyramids were lying just as they had been cast into the room. To give a probable date, the building had lain buried since about the beginning of the Christian era. In the middle of the room next to the sanctuary was a large black granite altar inscribed on all four sides with traditional Egyptian scenes and religious texts (Fig. 10). The altar had been dedicated to Amon by Atlanersa and records a speech of the god "to his beloved son Atlanersa," saying, "I have given thee the South and the North as a reward for this monument" (Fig. 11). But Senka-amon-seken had inscribed his name on the front beside the name of Atlanersa. The columns in this room also bore the name of Atlanersa, although the pylon was inscribed by Senka-amon-seken. Under the back wall we found the foundation deposits which showed that the original builder of the temple was Atlanersa. An examination of the masonry, the inscriptions and the other evidence proved that Atlanersa had built the temple, but on a very unfortunate site. The cliff fell and smashed his work. Senka-amon-seken then rebuilt the temple, setting his name on the new walls. Again the cliff fell, this time wrecking only the back of the temple, and again some king restored it, rebuilding the sanctuary and the room of the granite altar. But he has left no inscription. Yet a curious incident gives a hint that the third restoration took place in the days of the Meroitic king whose official name was Neb-maat-re; for we found in the sanctuary along with the Meroitic statuettes, a statuette of Amenophis III of Egypt (1411-1375 B. C.) on which the name of Amon and therefore the name of Amenophis had been scratched out during the well known attempt of Amenophis IV to destroy the power of the Amon priesthood. These erasures left only the official name of Amenophis, which was "Neb-maat-re." This suggests that the statuette, having been found in the ruins of one of the older temples, was placed in the sanctuary in the days of the Meroitic "Neb-maat-re," or soon thereafter, under the impression that the statuette was a portrait of him. The finding of the statuette may even have been magnified into a portent.

During the work at Barkal I visited some of the other royal cemeteries in the district and gained the impression that the pyramid group at Nuri was one of the greatest importance. Near the end of the season a gang was put to work there and cleared the chapel and stairway of one of the pyramids. From a battered inscription in the chapel and certain fragments of funerary figures in faience this pyramid was identified as the tomb of



Fig. 10. Barkal. The temple of Atlanersa, showing the granite altar in position



Fig. 11. Barkal. The left side of the granite altar of Atlanersa

King Espalut (Fig. 12). It had been plundered in the same manner as those at Gebel Barkal, by sinking a shaft, now filled with sand, through the deep end of the stairway to the top of the door. We, however, came down the steps and when we reached the door found that the roof of the outer room had caved in. It was therefore necessary to clear a way down through the roof from above. When the outer room was cleared, the walls were found to be of good gray sandstone masonry and inscribed with funerary texts. On the floor were scattered a number of alabaster vases, some decorated gold cylinders, a quantity of gold foil and beads of gold, beryl, and carnelian (Figs. 13, 14). It seemed as if the smaller objects had been dropped

by the thieves as the result of a hasty exit. Perhaps the collapse of the roof forced them to flee for their lives. The roof of the second room had also collapsed and its excavation was too difficult to attempt at the end of a season. So the outer chamber and the stair were filled in with sand to prevent accidents, a guard was set and the place was left until the next season.

The discovery of the tomb of Espalut marked the site of Nuri as a royal cemetery of the great period of the Ethiopian monarchy. The pyramid of Espalut is one of fourteen of nearly equal size which are surrounded by over twenty quite small pyramids. The field is dominated by one pyramid which is twice as large as any of the others and

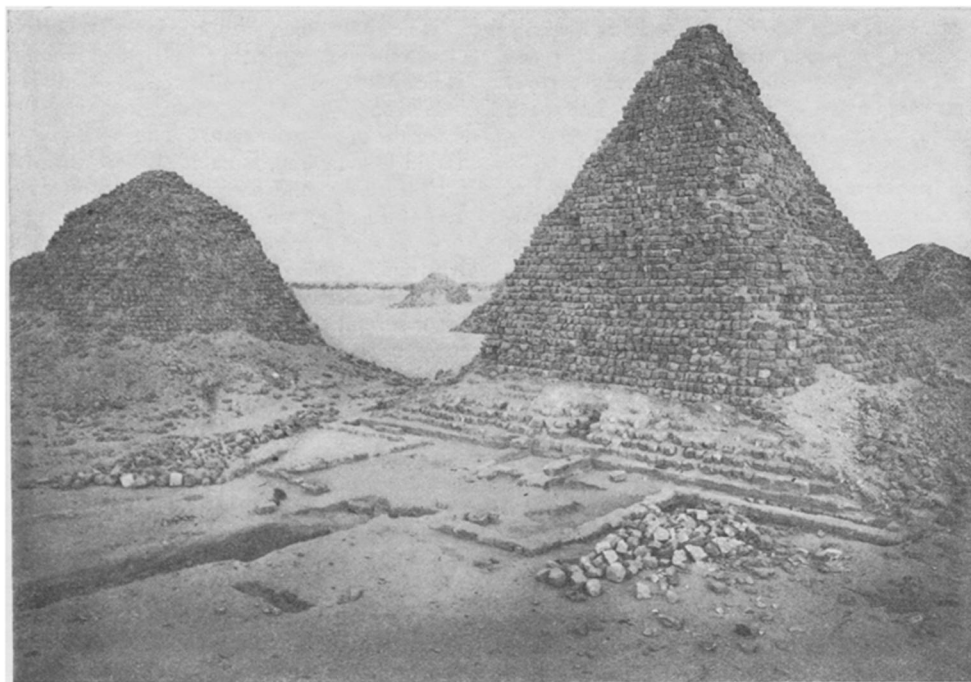


Fig. 12. Nuri. The pyramid of King Espalut, showing also chapel and end of stairway

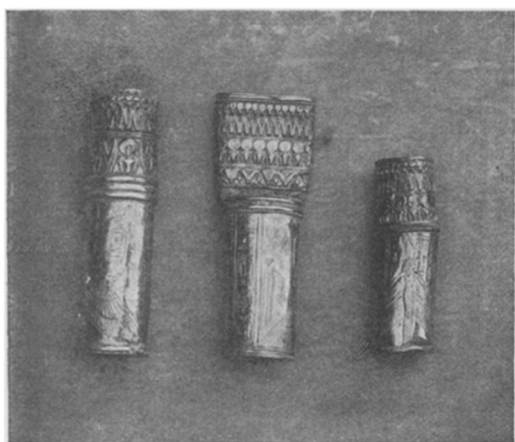


Fig. 13. Nuri. Three of the gold cylinders of King Espalut. Scale, one-third natural size

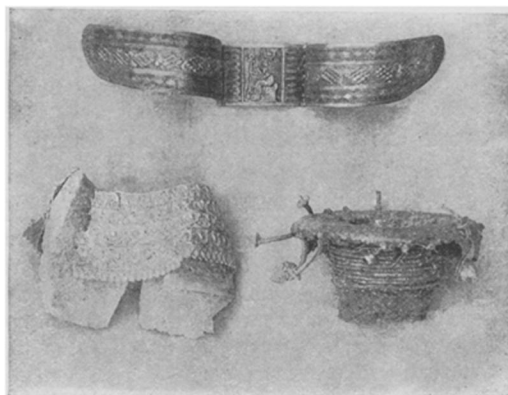


Fig. 14. Barkal. The enameled gold bracelet from Barkal VIII. and the decorated gold top of an alabaster vase from the tomb of Espalut, Nuri

apparently the earliest of them all. This massive ruin must be the tomb of one of the most powerful kings of the dynasty—in all probability one of the five who ruled over Egypt as well as Ethiopia.

Thus it falls to the lot of the expedition not only to make the first systematic examination of the great Barkal temples, but also to excavate a royal cemetery of the great period of the Ethiopian monarchy.

The thanks of the expedition are due to the Sudan Government, the local provincial authorities and the railway authorities for the usual facilities granted to scientific work in the Sudan, and for many personal courtesies. G. A. R.

Resignation of Mr. William Endicott, Treasurer of the Museum

MR. WILLIAM ENDICOTT, Treasurer of the Museum, resigned as Treasurer and Trustee on May 23. The week following Mr. Endicott left Boston for service abroad in connection with the American Red Cross.

At a meeting of the Trustees held on May 31, Mr. Endicott's resignation as Treasurer was accepted and the following minute was adopted:

"The Trustees have received the resignation of Mr. William Endicott as Treasurer and as Trustee of the Museum. In accepting his resignation as Treasurer they desire to place on record their admiration for the spirit of devotion which has actuated Mr. Endicott in accepting the opportunity of important service in France, and to express also their sense of loss in his necessary withdrawal as Treasurer. They find themselves unwilling to accept Mr. Endicott's resignation as Trustee, and hope that in a not distant future the Museum may again have the advantage of his services."

American Association of Museums

Annual Meeting in New York, May 21 to 23

THE Association met on May 21 and 23 in the American Museum of Natural History, and on May 22 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In pursuance of recommendations by a special committee on Training for Museum Workers, the following committees were appointed to gather information on related topics:

A committee under the chairmanship of Newton H. Carpenter of the Art Institute of Chicago, on Methods of Administration in American Museums.

A committee under the chairmanship of Henry W. Kent, Secretary of the Metropolitan Museum, on a Bibliography of Museum Literature.

A committee under the chairmanship of Frederic A. Whiting, Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art, on Plans for New Museum Buildings.

A committee under the chairmanship of FitzRoy Carrington, Curator of Prints at this Museum, on Opportunities of Museum Training and Service.

Renewed consideration of the publication of a journal to be devoted to the interests of all American museums resulted in a vote to issue during the coming year a small leaflet to be called "The Museum News Letter." A number is planned for each month, publication being omitted during the vacation season. The general editor is Harold L. Madison, Curator of the Park Museum in Providence; the associate editor for science is Frederick L. Lewton, of the Smithsonian Institution; for art, Miss Margaret T. Jackson; and for history, Dr. Frank A. Severance, Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society.

For several years the Association has received reports upon efforts to utilize museum objects for the instruction of children in the history of civilization. One session of the meeting was almost wholly devoted to further reports showing a vigorous prosecution and extension of this work in New England and New York.

Another session was devoted to the discussion of methods of display in museums of art, and another to the relations of the museum to the artist and the dealer in works of art.

The voting privilege in the Association is at present restricted to those occupying positions of responsibility in museums. On the second day of the meeting an amendment to the constitution was proposed, doing away with this restriction and permitting any persons interested in museum work to share in the management of the Association. In view of the importance of the proposal, action upon the amendment was postponed by the Council to the next meeting.

Notes

AT THE INVITATION of the Department of Fine Arts of the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, Mr. Kojiro Tomita, Assistant Curator of Chinese and Japanese Art at the Museum, gave an illustrated lecture on "Child Life in Japan" at the Institute on April 20 before an audience of children. On account of the demand for tickets, the lecture was repeated, the two audiences numbering some twelve hundred children.

THE PORTRAIT called "My Uncle Daniel and His Family," by Ignacio Zuloaga, has been received at the Museum and is shown in Gallery VII. The purchase of the portrait by the Museum was announced in the Bulletin of December, 1916. It was included in the exhibition of the artist's work recently shown in Boston and other cities.

AN EXHIBITION of Textiles, Pottery, Glass and Silver from Mexico, lent by Mr. and Mrs. Eman L. Beck, long resident in the City of Mexico, was opened May 29 in the Forecourt Room. The exhibition will continue during the summer.